

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-07 NEA-10 IO-10 ISO-00 ACDA-05 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAM-01 SAB-01 SAJ-01 DHA-02

ORM-02 EB-07 SCCT-01 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /107 W

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R 051359Z NOV 75

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4108

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 18085

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN, XF, XG, GW

SUBJECT: THE FRG AND THE PLO

REFS: (A) PARIS 28509; (B) STATE 244368; (C) BONN
04549; (D) BEIRUT 1348

SUMMARY: THE OFFICIAL POSITION OF THE FRG TOWARD THE PLO REMAINS THAT THE PALESTINIAN ORGANIZATION MUST RENOUNCE TERRORISM AND RECOGNIZE THE RIGHT OF ISRAEL TO EXIST. UNTIL IT MEETS THESE CONDITIONS, A NUMBER OF DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL FACTORS MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR THE PLO TO WIN OFFICIAL RECOGNITION IN THE FRG AS AN ACCEPTABLE SPOKESMAN FOR THE PALESTINIANS. THEREFORE BONN AUTHORITIES WOULD PROBABLY DENY PERMISSION FOR THE PLO TO OPEN ITS OWN OFFICE. HOWEVER, THE PLO DOES HAVE A WELL PLACED SPOKESMAN IN BONN, AND TOLERANCE FOR THE PLO IS INCREASING IN SOME QUARTERS IN THE FRG. END SUMMARY

1. FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS MAINTAIN THAT THE OFFICIAL POSITION OF THE FRG TOWARD THE PLO HAS NOT CHANGED, I.E., THE PLO MUST RENOUNCE TERRORISM AND RECOGNIZE THE RIGHT OF ISRAEL TO EXIST. HOWEVER, DESPITE THE RELUCTANCE OF THE PLO TO MEET THESE CONDITIONS, THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT IT IS SLOWLY WINNING CONDITIONAL ACCEPTANCE IN THE FRG.

2. THE PLO AS SUCH DOES NOT HAVE ITS OWN OFFICE IN BONN, BUT IT DOES HAVE A WELL PLACED SPOKESMAN. "THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PLO IN THE FRG" ABDULLAH FRANGI, IS A MEMBER OF THE ARAB LEAGUE'S OFFICE IN BONN AND IN THIS CAPACITY HAS ENTREE TO THE FOREIGN MINISTRY. FRANGI ALSO HEADS THE PALESTINE INFORMATION OFFICE WHICH SHARES AN ADDRESS WITH THE GERMAN-AFRICAN-ARAB BUREAU, AN ORGANIZATION WHICH PERFORMS PUBLIC RELATIONS SERVICES FOR MIDDLE EASTERN AND BLACK AFRICAN
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COUNTRIES AS WELL AS FOR PALESTINIANS AND AFRICAN LIBERATION GROUPS. ACCORDING TO THE FOREIGN MINISTRY MIDDLE EAST DESK OFFICER, THE PLO SEEMS SATISFIED WITH THIS ARRANGEMENT AND HAS NOT ASKED PERMISSION TO OPEN ITS OWN OFFICE.

3. COMMENT: BONN'S ACCEPTANCE OF FRANGI, WHO LEFT THE FRG

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AFTER THE MUNICH MASSACRE IN 1972 TO AVOID EXPULSION,
ALSO SUGGESTS THAT THE WEST GERMAN ATTITUDE TOWARD THE
PLO IS CHANGING. END COMMENT.

4. CONTACTS BETWEEN FRG OFFICIALS AND PLO LEADERS ARE
TAKING PLACE. IN DECEMBER 1974 THE CHAIRMAN OF THE
CDU FOREIGN POLICY COMMITTEE AND FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER
GERHARD SCHROEDER MET WITH YASIR ARAFAT IN DAMASCUS.
ON SEPTEMBER 23 OF THIS YEAR MINISTER OF STATE KARL
MOERSCH OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY SAW PLO EDITOR SHAFIK
EL HOOT IN BEIRUT, AND A NUMBER OF FOREIGN MINISTRY
OFFICIALS TALKED TO CHALID EL HASSAN AT A RECEPTION
WHICH STATE SECRETARY OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY WISCHNEVSKI
GAVE FOR THE EUROPEAN-ARAB PARLIAMENTARIANS IN SEP-
TEMBER.

5. THE PLO RECEIVED AN ENDORSEMENT WHEN, IN AN ADDRESS
TO THE CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN AND ARAB PARLIAMENTARIANS,
WISCHNEVSKI PLACED ISRAELI RECOGNITION OF THE PLO AND
PLO RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL ON THE SAME FOOTING. HE SAID,
"THE RECOGNITION OF THE RIGHT OF ISRAEL TO EXIST BY THE
PALESTINIANS, NAMELY THE PLO, AND PLO RECOGNITION OF THE
RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE PALESTINIANS BY
ISRAEL SHOULD GO TOGETHER (NEBENEINANDER STEHEN SOLLEN)."

6. THE GERMANS HAVE ALSO REPEATED THESE SENTIMENTS TO
THE ISRAELIS. WHEN THE ISRAELI AMBASSADOR CALLED ON
THE FOREIGN MINISTRY TO EXPRESS HIS "ASTONISHMENT" THAT
MOERSCH HAD MET PLO EDITOR SHAFIK EL HOOT IN BEIRUT, HE
WAS TOLD THAT THE FRG HAD NOT CHANGED ITS POSITION
TOWARD THE PLO, BUT THAT ISRAEL SHOULD DO MORE TOWARD
RECOGNIZING THE "LEGITIMATE RIGHTS" OF THE PALESTINIANS.

7. GREATER UNDERSTANDING FOR THE PLO IN THE FRG IS NO
DOUBT PARTIALLY ATTRIBUTABLE TO A MORE MODERATE IMAGE
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WHICH IT IS PROJECTING IN THE FRG, GIVING SOME OFFICIALS THE IMPRESSION THAT IT IS MOVING TOWARD MEETING THE TWO WEST GERMAN CONDITIONS. BOTH EL HOOT, IN HIS CONVERSATION WITH MOERSCH, AND EL HASSAN, IN HIS PRESS CONFERENCE IN BONN, COMPLETELY REJECTED TERRORISM OUTSIDE ISRAELI-CONTROLLED AREAS. BUT EL HOOT ARGUED THAT THE FRG SHOULD REGARD ACTS OF RESISTANCE AGAINST ISRAEL AND ISRAELI ATTACKS ON PALESTINIAN REFUGEE CAMPS IN LEBANON AS THE SAME. (THE FOREIGN MINISTRY, HOWEVER, IS LOATH TO MAKE A DISTINCTION BETWEEN PALESTINIAN VIOLENCE WITHIN AND OUTSIDE THE MIDDLE EAST.) ALSO, THE PLO HAS NOT BEEN IDENTIFIED WITH TERRORIST ACTIONS IN WESTERN EUROPE RECENTLY. MOREOVER, THE PLO HAS GIVEN SEVERAL FRG OFFICIALS THE IMPRESSION THAT IT WILL EVENTUALLY ACCEPT ISRAEL. IN A PRESS CONFERENCE IN BONN, EL HASSAN EVADED A QUESTION ON THE RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL SAYING IT WAS TOO EARLY TO DISCUSS THE ISSUE. ACCORDING TO A FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL, EL HOOT LEFT MOERSCH WITH THE FEELING THAT THE PLO WOULD EVENTUALLY RECOGNIZE ISRAEL, BUT HE PUT THE BURDEN ON ISRAEL SAYING THAT IT IS NOT UP TO THE WEAKER PARTY TO RECOGNIZE THE STRONGER.

8. INCREASING WEST GERMAN TOLERANCE FOR THE PLO IS ALSO PARTIALLY THE RESULT OF GROWING INTEREST IN THE MIDDLE EAST BY WEST GERMANS. SOME GERMAN OFFICIALS SEE CONTACT WITH PALESTINIANS AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THEIR EFFORT TO BUILD STRONGER RELATIONSHIPS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, ESPECIALLY WITH THE OIL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES. GERMANS ARE ALSO ESPECIALLY ANXIOUS TO AVOID THE CONSEQUENCES OF ANOTHER MIDDLE EAST WAR WHICH THEY FEAR WOULD INCLUDE AN INTERRUPTION OF THEIR OIL SUPPLIES AND STRAINED RELATIONS WITH THE US. AND THEY BELIEVE THAT SOMEHOW PALESTINIAN NEEDS MUST BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IF FUTURE WARS ARE TO BE PREVENTED. SOME ARE ALSO MORALLY CONCERNED WITH THE HISTORY OF THE PALESTINIANS.

9. DESPITE RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN FRG-PLO RELATIONS, IT IS NOT LIKELY THAT THE FRG WILL SOON BECOME AN ADVOCATE FOR THE PLO. THERE ARE STILL A NUMBER OF CONFIDENTIAL

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STRONG CONSTRAINTS WHICH LIMIT WEST GERMAN SUPPORT FOR THE PALESTINIANS, ESPECIALLY THE PLO. FRG OFFICIALS RECOGNIZE THESE LIMITATIONS WHEN THEY REFUSE TO SAY HOW THEY WOULD RESPOND SHOULD THE PLO DECIDE UNEQUIVOCALLY

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 BONN 18085

TO DISAVOW TERRORISM AND TO ANNOUNCE THAT THEY
RECOGNIZE THE STATE OF ISRAEL, AND WHEN THEY REFUSE
TO SAY WHAT THE "LEGITIMATE RIGHTS" OF THE PALESTINIANS
ARE.

10. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS LIMIT THE FRG'S
FREEDOM OF ACTION IN DEALING WITH THE PLO. IN
ADDITION TO THE REMNANTS OF THE "SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP"
BETWEEN THE FRG AND ISRAEL, THE FRG IS COMMITTED
TO THE PURSUIT OF A COMMON MIDDLE EAST POLICY WITH
THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE EC. IT ALSO WANTS TO AVOID
COMPLICATING US EFFORTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

11. DOMESTIC FACTORS ALSO IMPEDE THE DEVELOPMENT OF
CLOSER RELATIONS BETWEEN FRG AND THE PLO. A NUMBER OF
WEST GERMAN PAPERS, ESPECIALLY THE SPRINGER PUBLI-
CATIONS, AS WELL AS THE TRADE UNIONS AND MANY
PARLIAMENTARIANS STRONGLY SUPPORT ISRAEL. (AT THE ILO
IN JUNE THE FRG WORKER REPRESENTATIVE COMPARED THE PLO
TO THE BAADER--MEINHOF TERRORISTS.) THE SPD HAS CLOSE
CONNECTIONS WITH THE ISRAELI LABOR PARTY. THEREFORE,
RELATIONS BETWEEN THE FRG AND THE PLO ARE UNLIKELY TO
DEVELOP MUCH FURTHER IN THE NEAR FUTURE.
HILLENBRAND

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